

創価大学
国際仏教学高等研究所
年 報

平成28年度
(第20号)

Annual Report
of
The International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhology
at Soka University

for the Academic Year 2016

Volume XX

創価大学・国際仏教学高等研究所
東京・2017・八王子

The International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhology
Soka University
Tokyo・2017

On *cha* 刹, *tjer* 𪛗(𪛗) and *tera* 𪛗*

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(1) On *cha* 刹, meaning “a large and significant temple”

The Chinese character *cha* 刹 (EH. t̚shat > MC. t̚shat) was coined by Buddhists to transliterate the Indian word *kṣetr(a)*, meaning “land”. The same Chinese word *cha* 刹 in *mingcha* 名刹, *gucha* 古刹, *jucha* 巨刹, *sicha* 寺刹, *focha* 佛刹, *fancha* 梵刹, *chancha* 禪刹, however, means “a temple”. The etymology of this usage remains unclear. I shall quote below some of the explanations of this word in several dictionaries.

The *Sōgō Bukkyō Daijiten* 総合佛教大辞典 (Kyoto 1987: Hōzōkan), vol. 1, p. 464, defines this word as follows:

Satsu 刹. An abbreviation of Skt. *lakṣatā*. Also written as 𪛗. It is called *rashitei* 刺瑟𪛗 in full, meaning an emblem, a symbol. (*Satsu*) means a flagpole or central pillar of a *stūpa*. A temple is called *jisatsu* 寺刹, *bonsatsu*, 梵刹, *kinsatsu* 金刹, *meisatu* 名刹, since a *satsu* 刹, namely a flagpole, used to be erected in front of a Buddhist hall.

The *Hanyu Dacidian* 漢語大詞典 (Shanghai 1986~1994: Hanyu Dacidian Chubanshe), vol. 2, p. 671, defines this word as follows:

An abbreviation of a transliteration of Skt. *lakṣata* (*sic.*). It is the finial (of a pagoda) (*xianglun* 相輪), namely an ornament atop (*sic.*) a Buddhist *stūpa*. It is called also *chazhu* 刹柱 (‘a *cha* pillar’).

Hajime Nakamura (中村元)’s, *Kosetsu Bukkyōgo Daijiten* 広説佛教語大辞典 (Tokyo 2001: Tokyo Shoseki), p. 1009, defines this word as follows:

Satsu 刹. A transliteration of Pāli *laṭṭhi*, Skt. *yaṣṭi*.¹ A flagpole, flagstaff. (A temple) is called *jisatsu* 寺刹, *bonsatsu*, 梵刹, *meisatu* 名刹 *etc.*, since a flag with a sacred gem atop, being decorated with flame designs, used to be erected, as a symbol of a temple, in front of a Buddhist hall.

* I am very grateful to Peter Lait and Susan Roach, who went to great trouble to check my English. Thanks are due as well to Takako Hashimoto, Qiu Yunqing and Kazune Uchimoto, who read an earlier version of this article and made valuable suggestions. The part dealing with the Chinese word *cha* 刹 has been published already in Japanese (2007) and Chinese (2008). I use the drawings in those papers, prepared by Prof. Ye Shaoyong of Beijing University, who is also artistically gifted, in this article as well. I should like to thank him for his generous support. This work was supported by JSPS KAKENHI Grant Numbers 26370056 and 26284026.

¹ Zhou Zumo 周祖謨, in his critical edition of the *Luoyang qielan ji* (洛陽伽藍記校釋, Beijing 1963: Zhonghua Shuju 中華書局), p. 6, quotes Ji Xianlin (季羨林)’s opinion on the word in question: “*Cha* 刹 is Skt. *yaṣṭi*, Pāli *laṭṭhi* (*sic.*). ‘*Lasezhi* 刺瑟𪛗’ in Xuanying 玄應 (’s *Yiqiejing Yinyi* 一切經音義) is probably a transliteration of *laṭṭhi* (*sic.*).”

The *Iwanami Bukkyō Jiten* 岩波 仏教辞典, ed. by Hajime Nakamura *et al.* (revised edition: Tokyo 2002: Iwanami Shoten), p. 326, s.v. *kyosatsu* 巨刹, defines this word as follows:

Satsu 刹 means temple. *Cha* 刹 is usually a transliteration of *kṣetra*, meaning “land”. According to Xuanying’s *Yiqiejing Yinyi* 一切經音義, a flagpole (*yaṣṭi*) atop a Buddha *stūpa* was called *cha* 刹. Presumably, then, this word was applied to a Buddha *stūpa*, and also a temple itself.

All these definitions derive from a peculiar interpretation of the word *cha* 刹 in Xuanying’s *Yiqiejing Yinyi* 一切經音義:

Cha 刹 ... *kṣetra* in Sanskrit, meaning “cultivated field” (*tutian* 土田). In the scriptures, it is translated sometimes as “kingdom” (*guo* 國) or “soil” (*tu* 土), implying the same. Also, it is rendered as *chatu* 刹土, consisting of both the (Indian and Chinese) words (namely *cha* 刹 and *tu* 土). *Chadili* 刹帝利 (*kṣatriya*), meaning “owner of a cultivated field” (*tianzhu* 田主), derives from this. ... *Futu* (浮圖; *buddh[a]-thuv[a] < buddha-stūpa*) and *mingcha* 名刹 (“famous temple”) are erroneous. (Instead of *cha*), one should say *lasezhi* 刺瑟胝 (**laṣṭi*?), of which *la* 刺 (MC. *lât*) is pronounced as *l(jək)* plus (*k*)ât. This (word) can be translated as *gan* 竿 (“pole”). Since people used to substitute this with a wooden pillar (*zhu* 柱), it was called *chazhu* 刹柱 as well. As placing the bones of the Buddha (in a *stūpa*) resembles (planting) a cultivated field (*tutian* 土田 = *kṣetra*), (a *stūpa*) is called *cha* 刹. (Also) because, in Western countries, *śarīras* (i.e. relics; *sheli* 舍利) are placed on the top of *stūpa*-poles.²

The latter half of the above-quoted explanation by Xuanying of the word *cha* 刹 is problematic³.

Firstly, from the transliteration there of *lasezhi* 刺瑟胝, an original Indian form **laṣṭi* is assumed⁴, but such a Sanskrit word is not attested anywhere else. It could be a hypersanskritism of Pāli *laṭṭhi* (“stick, pole”), which derives actually from Skt. *yaṣṭi*⁵. However, the pronunciations of *cha* 刹 (MC. *tṣhat*) and *lasezhi* 刺瑟胝 (MC. *lât ṣjet ti*) differ greatly. Secondly, Xuanying writes “Because placing the bones of the Buddha (in a *stūpa*) resembles (planting) a cultivated field, (a *stūpa*) is called *cha* 刹”, but the association of a

² YQ(Xy), 814b8f. 梵言差多羅, 此譯云土田。經中或言國, 或云土者, 同其義也。或作刹土者, 存二音也。即刹帝利名字田主者, 亦是也。…… 浮圖、名刹者, 訛也。應言刺瑟胝。刺音力割反。此譯云竿。人以柱代之, 名為刹柱。以安佛骨義同土田故, 名刹也。以彼西國塔竿頭安舍利故也。(卷一釋《大方廣佛華嚴經》第一卷“切刹”)。Cf. YQ 431a28. This explanation is given of the word *cha* 刹 in the sentence 如一切刹微塵數 in the Chinese translation of the *Avatamsakasūtra*, namely the *Dafangguang Fohuayan jing* 大方廣佛華嚴經 (T. 9, no. 278, 398b26). Xuanying quotes mistakenly *qiecha* 切刹 instead of *yiqie cha* 一切刹, meaning “all (一切) lands (刹)”. Surprisingly, Buswell interprets *qiecha* 切刹 as a transliteration (1999: 195f.).

³ In another place in the same book, Xuanying gives another explanation of this word in a correct way (see note 23). The interpretation given here could be a citation of an older one provided by another person.

⁴ Although the *Mochizuki Bukkyō Dajiten* 望月 佛教大辭典, vol. 2, p. 1442, and many later dictionaries give *lakṣatā* (*lakṣata* in the *Hanyu Dacidian* 漢語大詞典 is a misprint) as an original Sanskrit form of *lasezhi* 刺瑟胝, such a Sanskrit word is not attested anywhere and therefore, it is purely an invention by the author of the *Mochizuki Bukkyō Dajiten*.

⁵ *Yaṣṭi* is a pole, which pierces and sustains the layered circular umbrella-like discs on the dome of a *stūpa*. Cf. Kottkamp 1992: 696, s.v. *yaṣṭi*.

stūpa with a cultivated field (i.e. *kṣetra*) is not found in Indian Buddhist texts.

From where, then, does *cha* 刹 derive? In Kumārajīva's translation of the Lotus Sutra, namely the *Miaofa Lianhua jing* 妙法蓮華經 (T. 9, no. 262; 406 C.E.), the compound *biaocha* 表刹, containing the word *cha* 刹 in question, is used as follows:

以舍利起塔 七寶而莊嚴 表刹甚高廣 漸小至梵天 (46a7f.)

(One, who holds this scripture after the Buddha's entering extinction,) will have built *stūpas* for (these) relics, adorned with the seven treasures, (and) with banners and chas (i.e. umbrellas), which are very high and wide and almost reach the Brahma-world.

一切衆生喜見菩薩見佛滅度, ... 收取舍利, 作八萬四千寶瓶, 以起八萬四千塔, 高三世界, 表刹莊嚴, 垂諸幡蓋, 懸衆寶鈴。 (53c17f.)

Having seen the Buddha's entering extinction, the *bodhisatva* Sarvasatva-priyadarśana ... collected all his relics, had eighty-four thousand jewelled urns made and erected eighty-four thousand *stūpas* as high as the triple universe. (The *stūpas*) were adorned with banners and chas (i.e. umbrellas), draped with streamers and canopies, and many jewelled bells were hung (on the *stūpas*).

Biaocha 表刹 in the first sentence corresponds with *chatrāvaḍi*- *vaijyantī*- (KN 340.14f.), while *biaocha* 表刹 in the second one parallels with *chatrāvalī*- (KN 412.1) in the Sanskrit version of the Lotus Sutra, namely the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka*. Both *chatrāvaḍi* and *chatrāvalī* mean “a row of umbrellas”, which designates the layered circular umbrella-like discs on the dome of a *stūpa* (see Fig. 1)⁶, while *vaijyantī* denotes “banners” draped on the top of a *stūpa* (see Figs. 2 and 7).



Fig. 1 A votive *stūpa*⁷



Fig. 2 A drawing of a *stūpa* in Dunhuang Mogao Cave, no. 428⁸

The word *biao* 表 in the compound *biaocha* 表刹 means “banner, flag”⁹, while the transliteration of 刹 (MC. *tṣhat*) corresponds apparently to the word *chatra* (written also as

⁶ Cf. Kottkamp 1992: 695, s.v. *chatrāvalī*.

⁷ After Kurita 2003, p. 302, no. 935.

⁸ A drawing by Dr. Ye Shaoyong, based on a picture in Xiao Mo 蕭默, *Dunhuang Jianzhu Yanjiu* 敦煌建築研究, Beijing 1989: Wenwu Chubanshe 文物出版社.

⁹ Cf. HD.1.533 (7); Karashima 2001: 32, s.v. *changbiao* 長表 (“a long banner [or flag]”).

chattra) in the Sanskrit version. However, this identification is not without problems. Chinese translators principally used Chinese characters with the initial consonant MC. tʃh- to render the Indian consonant kʃ-¹⁰, e.g. *yuecha* 閱叉 (MC. jiwät tʃha; Skt. *yakṣa*), *yecha* 夜叉 (MC. jia- tʃha; Skt. *yakṣa*), *chanti* 羼提 (MC. tʃhän:[tʃhän-] diei; Skt. *kṣānti*), whereas the Indian consonant *ch-* was rendered into Chinese with the initial consonant MC. tʃh-¹¹, e.g. *channu* 闍怒 (MC. tʃhjän: nwo-; Pāli *Channo*)¹², *liche* 隸車 (MC. liei- tʃhja; Skt. *Licchavi*)¹³ etc. Therefore, it was quite natural to use *cha* 刹 (MC. tʃhat) as a transliteration of Skt. *kṣetra* (“land; field”).

Then, why was the same *cha* 刹 used to transliterate *chat(t)ra* (“an umbrella; a circular umbrella-like disc on the dome of a *stūpa*”)? Although the reason is not yet clear, Skt. *chat(t)ra* was rendered often as *kṣat(t)ra* into Central Asian languages, e.g. Khotanese *kṣat(t)ra*, (so-called) Tocharian *kṣāt(t)re*, *kuṣāt(t)re*. Moreover, in a Sanskrit fragment of the *Suvarṇabhāṣottamasūtra*, discovered probably in Khotan, *kṣatra* stands for *chatra*.¹⁴ Therefore, I assume that in the mother languages of the Central Asian translators of the Chinese Buddhist scriptures, such as Kumārajīva (344~413 or 350~409 C.E.), Skt. *chatra* was pronounced in the same way as *kṣatra*¹⁵ and hence, it was transcribed as *cha* 刹.

In ancient India, there was a custom in which an attendant carried an umbrella not only to shade the king or a noble man from the sun, but also to symbolise his power. Consequently, there is a Buddha statue over which an umbrella was placed to express people’s respect towards him (see Fig. 3). Out of the same respectful feelings, multiple umbrellas were placed on a *stūpa*, which was supposed to hold the Buddha’s relics (see Figs. 4, 5, 6). Umbrellas, which had been placed next to each other on a *stūpa*, later became the layered circular umbrella-like discs on the dome of *stūpas* (see Fig. 1). Therefore, the above-mentioned compounds *chatrāvaḍi* and *chatrāvalī* (lit. “a row of umbrellas”) in the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka* denote these multi-layered umbrella-like discs. This original meaning of *chatra* as “an umbrella” seems to have been forgotten during the transmission of Buddhism from India through Central Asia to China and as a result, umbrella-like discs changed to doughnut-shaped ones, the so-called *xianglun* 相輪 (see Fig. 2).

¹⁰ Cf. Coblin 1983: 54; Karashima 1994: 278~279.

¹¹ Cf. Karashima 1994: 252.

¹² Cf. Karashima 1994: 167.

¹³ Cf. Karashima 1994: 155~156.

¹⁴ Seishi Karashima and Zhongxin Jiang “Sanskrit Fragments of the Sutra of Golden Light from the Lüshun Museum Collection”, in: *Hualin* 華林, vol. 3 (2003), Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju 中華書局, p. 343, n. 118. Cf. H. W. Bailey, “Gāndhārī”, in: *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 11, pp. 771f.; Werner Thomas, *Tocharisches Elementarbuch*, Band II, Texte und Glossar, Heidelberg 1964: Carl Winter, p. 191; Douglas Q. Adams, *A Dictionary of Tocharian B*, Amsterdam, Atlanta: 1999: Rodopi (*Leiden Studies in Indo-European* 10), p. 241. The change of *chatra* to *kṣatra* is an instance of so-called hypersanskritism.

¹⁵ Where the Gilgit-Nepalese recension of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka* or Lotus Sutra reads *ratnāmāyā kṣetra tathātra kecid* (KN 24.3; “Here are some lands which are made of jewels.”) and a Central Asian manuscript discovered near Khotan reads *ḍṛṣyaṃti ratnāmāyā kṣetra kecid* (“There are some lands which are made of jewels.”), the oldest Chinese translation of the scripture, namely the *Zhengfahua jing* 正法華經 (286 C.E.) by Dharmarakṣa (ca. 233~ca. 310 C.E.), reads “Or there are *buddha*-lands (where) many jewelled canopies are erected” (或有佛土 立諸寶蓋; T. 9, no. 263, 66c19). It is clear that the Indian word *kṣetra* ([metri causa] < *kṣetrā* “lands”) was somehow rendered in a double way as *foṭu* 佛土 (“*buddha*-lands”) and *gai* 蓋 (“canopies”). This instance shows that pronunciations of *kṣetra* and *chatra* resembled one another, which might support the above-stated hypothesis of the change of *chatra* > *kṣatra*. Cf. Karashima 1992: 39~40, 282 (on 66c-11).



Fig. 3 A statue of the Buddha with an umbrella¹⁶



Fig. 4 A crystal *stūpa* with five umbrellas atop¹⁷



Fig. 5 A drawing of a *stūpa* with many umbrellas atop¹⁸

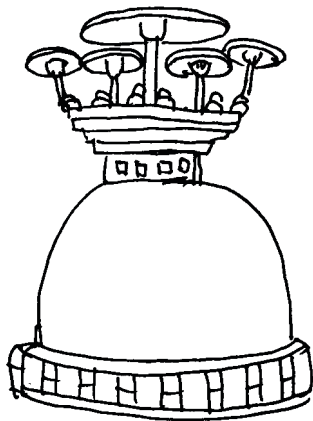


Fig. 6 A drawing of a *stūpa* with umbrellas atop¹⁹



Fig. 7 A drawing of a *stūpa* decorated with long banners²⁰

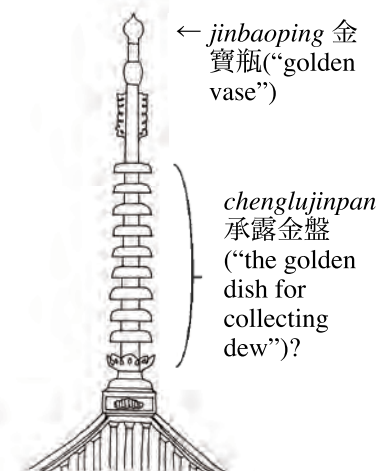


Fig. 8 A drawing of the upper part of a *stūpa* in Japan²¹

In Kumārajīva's translation of the Lotus Sutra, namely the *Miaofa Lianhua jing* 妙法蓮華經 (T. 9, no. 262), the following depictions of *stūpas*, made of the seven precious treasures, are given as follows:

諸佛滅後 起七寶塔 長表・金利 華香伎樂 而以供養 諸佛塔廟 (22a5f.)

After the *buddhas*' entering extinction, (he) will erect *stūpas*, made of the seven precious treasures and (decorated) with long banners and golden *chas* (i.e. discs), and (he) will worship the *stūpas* with flowers, incense and music.

Changbiao 長表 ("a long banner") in this verse corresponds to Skt. *vaijayanta* ("a

¹⁶ 5th~6th c.; discovered in Sarnath, preserved presently at Banaras Hindu University. Dr. Ye Shaoyong's drawing based on a photograph found in Satō Sōtarō 佐藤宗太郎, *Kodai Indo no Ishibori* 古代インドの石彫 [Stone Sculptures in Ancient India], Tokyo 1970: Kawade Shobō Shinsha 河出書房新社, pl. 50.

¹⁷ Discovered in Mansera, in a private collection, Kurita 2003, p. 303, no. 940.

¹⁸ Dr. Ye Shaoyong's drawing based on a painting in Ajanta (1st c. B.C.E.).

¹⁹ A picture on a relief in Sanchi (ca. 1st c. B.C.E to 1st c. C.E.). A drawing prepared by Dr. Ye Shaoyong.

²⁰ A drawing on the Hodar in Northern Pakistan. A copy prepared by Dr. Ye Shaoyong from D. Bandini-König, *Die Felsbildstation Hodar*, Mainz 1999: P. von Zabern (*Materialien zur Archäologie der Nordgebiete Pakistans, Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften, Forschungsstelle Felsbilder und Inschriften am Karakorum Highway 3*), pl. 191.

²¹ A drawing by Dr. Ye Shaoyong.

banner”; KN 154.11)²², whereas the word *jinchā* 金刹²³ (“golden discs [layered on a *stūpa*]) has no parallel in the Sanskrit version. One may assume, however, a *stūpa*, decorated with long banners and golden discs, looks like the drawing in Fig. 7.

The *Record of Buddhist Monasteries in Luoyang* (*Luoyang qielan ji* 洛陽伽藍記), compiled by Yang Xuanzhi 楊衒之 in ca. 547 C.E., provides us with a rich source of descriptions of *stūpas* in the Northern Wei 北魏 (386~534 C.E.), whose capital was Luoyang. I shall quote some descriptions of these below:

中有九層浮圖一所，架木為之，舉高九十丈。有刹復高十丈，合去地一千尺。去京師百里，已遙見之。……刹上有金寶瓶，容二十五石。寶瓶下有承露金盤三十重，周匝皆垂金鐸。復有鐵鎖四道，引刹向浮圖四角；鎖上亦有金鐸，鐸大小如一石甕子。(T. 51, no. 2092, 1000a1~8)

(In Yongning Temple 永寧寺), there is a nine-storey *buddha-stūpa* (浮圖) which is built with a wooden frame, 900 feet high. On (its top), there is (a layer of) *chas* (i.e. discs), which is another 100 feet so that (the *stūpa*) itself is 1,000 feet high *in toto*. Though being 100 *li* (ca. 55 km.) away from the capital, it can still be seen. ... On top of (the layer of) *chas* is a golden vase with a capacity of 25 bushels. Under this precious vase, there is a thirty-layered golden dish to collect dew and all around golden bells are hung. Also, there are four iron chains which stretch from the (top of the layer of) the *chas* (i.e. discs) down to the four corners of the *buddha-stūpa*. On the chains, more golden bells, which are as big as one bushel pot, are hung.

中有三層浮圖一所。金盤靈刹曜諸城內。(1002c14f.)

(In Changqiu Temple 長秋寺), there is a three-storey *buddha-stūpa* (浮圖). The gleam of the golden dish (for collecting dew) and the auspicious *chas* (i.e. discs) (on it) can be seen throughout the city (i.e. Luoyang).

胡統寺。……。寶塔五重。金刹高聳。(1004a2f.)

Hutong Temple 胡統寺 ... There is a five-storey *buddha-stūpa* (浮圖). (A layer of) golden *chas* (i.e. discs) rises prominently.

From the above, it seems clear that *cha* 刹 denotes the part from *jinbaoping* 金寶瓶 (“a golden vase”) down to *chenglujinpan* 承露金盤 (“the golden dish for collecting dew”) in this text (see Fig. 8).

A temple, in which a multi-storey *stūpa* was built, was extremely rare; only major and large temples could afford to possess such *stūpas*. *Chas* 刹 (i.e. discs) or golden *chas* 金刹 signify that there was such a *stūpa* in the temple and that the temple was large and significant. Therefore, a major temple came to be called *mingcha* 名刹 (“famous temple”),

²² Xuanying explains the word *changbiao* 長表 in this verse as a Chinese translation of Skt. *śmaśāna* (“an elevated place for burning dead bodies, crematorium, cemetery or burial-place for the bones of cremated corpses” [MW, s.v.]), which is absolutely absurd: 長表。梵言舍磨奢那(*śmaśāna*)。此云冢也。案西域僧徒死者或遣諸禽獸收骨燒之埋於地下，於上立表，累甕石等。頗似牽觀波(Skt. *stūpa*)。但形而卑小也(YQ[Xy], 913b3f.). Consequently, the *Hanyu Dacidian* 漢語大詞典 defines the word 長表 mistakenly as “a long pole erected on the top of a tomb of a monk or a Buddhist follower” (指僧徒墳地上立的長柱; HD.11.587b). Cf. Karashima 2001: 32, s.v. *changbiao* 長表 (“a long banner [or flag]”).

²³ Interestingly enough, Xuanying correctly understood the word *cha* 刹 in this occurrence in the Lotus Sutra as a transliteration of Skt. *chattrā*: 金刹。梵言掣多羅(MC. tshjāi tâ lâ; **chettra*?). 案西域無別旛竿。即於塔覆鉢柱頭，懸旛。今言刹者，應訛略也(YQ[Xy], 913b7f.).

gucha 古刹 (“old temple”), *jucha* 巨刹 (“huge temple”), *sicha* 寺刹 (“temple”), *focha* 佛刹 (“Buddhist temple”), *fancha* 梵刹 (“temple”), *chancha* 禪刹 (“Chan temple”) etc. A temple without such a *stūpa* was not called *mingcha* 名刹 (“famous temple”).

(2) *tjér* 델(절) and *tera* てら

Recently, two articles concerning the etymology of Old Korean *tjér* 델 and Old Japanese *tera* てら have been published, namely by Beckwith 2014 and Vovin / Sagart 2016.

Beckwith’s hypothesis that the Chinese character *si* 寺 (EH *ziə*^c > MC *zĩ*^c), whose Late Old Chinese pronunciation he imaginarily reconstructed as **dēka*, was used by Central Asian Buddhist translators to transliterate the Aramaic *dērā* ~ *dayrā* (“communal religious dwelling-place, monastery”). As Vovin / Sagart 2016 rightly demonstrates, Beckwith’s reconstruction of *si* 寺 as **dēka* is pure fantasy to serve the purpose of his hypothesis. The character *si* 寺 was used to denote a government office, which handled foreign guests and diplomatic delegates (such an office was named *honglusi* 鴻臚寺 from the 6th century onwards). It would also host Buddhist monks from India and Central Asia. Probably, a guesthouse, built for such monks, was consequently called *si* 寺 and became to be designated as a Buddhist temple. We need not suppose any Aramaic for *si* 寺, meaning “Buddhist temple”.

Vovin and Sagart hypothesise the following: Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit *cetiyaṃ* (“shrine”) > *Old Korean **tyaram* (> Middle Korean *tyér*) > Western Old Japanese *tera* and > Old Jurchen *tairan* “Buddhist temple”. However, not only the development of Sanskrit *-y-* to Old Korean *-r-* is unexplainable as well as *c-* > *ty-*, but also the most difficulty lies in the fact that there are no instances where a Sanskrit word was transliterated into Old Korean without any intermediate Chinese word. The Chinese transliterations of *cetiya* are *zhiti* 支提, *zhidi* 支帝, *zhiduo* 制多, *zhidi* 制底, none of which agrees with *Old Korean **tyaram* (> Middle Korean *tyér*). Moreover, although Edgerton gives the definition “temple” in his dictionary, those who read Buddhist Sanskrit may well know that Skt. *caitya* or BHS = Pāli *cetiya* means “a shrine, sanctuary, funeral monument”, being often used also as a synonym of *stūpa*, found outside or within a monastery or temple but never meaning a monastery or temple, where monks live, itself. Therefore, the etymological explanations proposed by Vovin and Sagart are as problematic as that of Beckwith.

As early as 1929, in the *Nihon Kogo Daijiten* 日本古語大辞典, vol. 1 (Goshi 語誌), (Tokyo: Tōkō Shoin 刀江書院), p. 885, Matsuoka Shizuo 松岡静雄 assumed that the Old Japanese *tera* てら originated from the Old Korean *tyer* 델. Also, Ōtsuki Fumihiko 大槻文彦, in his *Daigenkai* 大言海 (Tokyo 1932: Fuzanbō 富山房), p. 1407a, derives *tera* てら from the same Old Korean *tyer* 델, being a Korean transliteration of the Chinese *cha* 刹, as do Kim Sayop 金思燁 1974: 418, Martin (1991: 278) and Miyake (1997: 194). However, this derivation is harshly criticised by Vovin / Sagart 2016: 121.

One reason for this is that *cha* 刹 (EH. *t̪ʂat* > MC. *t̪ʂat*), having the final *-t*, did not change to *-l* or *-r* either in Sino-Japanese Go-on and Kan-on or in Sino-Vietnamese. However, the final *-t* of Archaic Chinese generally changed to *-l* or *-r* in Sino-Korean (cf. Jang 2001), e.g. *yi* 一 (EH. *ʔit* > MC. *ʔjiet*⁴ [> Middle Tang *ʔir*] > Korean *ir* 일 (cf. Japanese

ichi); *bi* 筆 (EH. ʔit > MC. pjet³) > Korean *pil* 필 (cf. Japanese *hitsu*). Concerning this sound change, Jang (2001: 294) assumes that “when the Chinese words with syllable-final /t/ were imported into Korean, these words underwent a rule of flapping of the same sort as that found in American English and that this flapping process is gradually reanalyzed as an across-the-board phonological rule, thereby yielding nonrelease /l/ syllable finally.” Therefore, the change of finals from Chinese *-t* to Middle Korean *-r* in *cha* 刹 (EH. tʃhat > MC. tʃhat) > Middle Korean *tyér* is not problematic. The fact that its Old Jurchen parallel *tairan* has the ending *-an*, should not be related to a discussion on the original form of Middle Korean *tyér*, as the former is not older than the 10th century.

Another reason for their criticism is that *cha* 刹 is a transliteration of *kṣetra* (“land; field”) which does not mean “temple”, and they assumed instead that the *Old Korean **tyaram* (> Middle Korean *tyér*) derives from *cetiyaṃ* “shrine”, which is highly problematic as we have discussed above.

As we have seen, *cha* 刹 was originally used to transliterate *chat(t)ra* (“a circular umbrella-like disc on the dome of a *stūpa*”), which was pronounced probably in the same way as *kṣatra* and later, *cha* 刹 came to signify a large and significant temple in which a multi-storey *stūpa* was found. Therefore, I surmise that the Middle Korean *tjér* 델(절) and Old Japanese *tera* てら are derived quite probably from *cha* 刹, meaning “a large and significant temple”.

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